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kwamai spoke tongues similar or identical with each other, but set off from Maricopa-Halchidhoma.

The Maricopa have been historically linked with the adjacent Pima. For this reason they have been invariably dismissed as merely Pima-like by earlier writers who uniformly approached from the side of the historically more important, and more numerous, Pima. Their culture was, however, not that of the Pima. It was rather a lower Colorado culture resembling the Pima to no greater degree than the Pima themselves resembled the lower Colorado peoples.

There are today two Maricopa communities; one in the confluence of the Gila and Salt Rivers, the other, smaller, on the south bank of the Salt at Lehi, a few miles north of Mesa. To the local whites, all the members of these communities are "Maricopa." Actually they consist of the five Yuman tribes mentioned above, intermarried through several generations. It would be difficult to say whether Maricopa or Halchidhoma blood is now preponderant: the Kohuana, Halykwamai, Pima, and lesser ingredients, such as Yuma, are small. Today they form tribally unsegmented communities of Maricopa speech.

The larger Maricopa community in the Gila-Salt confluence numbers somewhat under three hundred individuals. Their scattered houses lie on the extreme western end of the Gila River Indian Reservation, a few miles west of Laveen and about fifteen southwest of Phoenix. There is little contact with the Pima villages, the nearest of which is now ten miles southeast near Gila Crossing. All the notes on which this paper is based were obtained from this community. That at Lehi was not visited. The Lehi group was said to consist of a half dozen families, primarily Halchidhoma. The earlier location of these mixed groups was on both sides of the Gila from Gila Crossing for ten miles upstream to Pima Butte. This area was abandoned in favor of the present locations a half century ago. There is now no Yuman-speaking person in their former territory, nor on the so-called Maricopa Indian Reservation twenty-five miles south, and none in the Gila Bend district.

Little of the ancient culture remains, the "Maricopa" having

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Maricopa

ferreting out information. Although she had had little formal schooling, her English vocabulary was very wide and her understanding of modern American culture as full as that of her own people. To only one characteristic could I take exception; none of the good humored obscenity, so characteristic of Yuman speech, was ever translated without being toned down.

I visited the Maricopa community in the winter of 1929–30 (November–March) on field funds supplied by the University of Chicago, and again in October 1931 and January 1932 on those of Yale University. My thanks for these opportunities must go to Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole. Collections were made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington, Seattle), and for the Peabody Museum (Yale University) on which I have drawn for illustrations. During part of my stay in the field, I had the good fortune to have the companionship of Dr. A. L. Kroeber and Mr. E. W. Gifford, who drew freely on their wide acquaintance with the Yuman field for my benefit. Later they generously put in my hands their manuscripts on the ethnology of the Walapai, Southeastern Yavapai, Kamia, and Cocopa, as did Dr. Ralph Beals a summary on northern Mexico and his Cahita manuscript.

With characteristic kindness Dr. George Herzog transcribed the set of songs which I recorded on a phonograph. He has permitted me to include his remarks on the music verbatim with the metrical notation of the songs.

Edward S. Curtis has published a very brief account of the Maricopa, in which cultural borrowings from the Pima are stressed.[1] These seem inferences rather than native assertions.

The phonetic scheme used in this paper is the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," LXVI [1916], No. 6) with some use of the fuller system described there. I diverge only in using R for a strongly trilled r-sound; even more strongly trilled than Spanish rr.

LESLIE SPIER

August, 1932

[1] Curtis, Vol. II.

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Maricopa. The reason is intelligible, since these Yuman remnants have been thoroughly incorporated in the Maricopa community for the better part of a century. The Halchidhoma fled the Colorado about 1825–30, going to Sonora, and shortly after joining the Maricopa near the Pima. Ten years later the linked Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed them eastward. The Kaveltcadom joined the Maricopa community at about the same time.

Population estimates are available from the late eighteenth and middle nineteenth centuries. In a tabular statement in 1776, Garcés set the number of Halchidhoma and Cocomaricopa each at 2500. These Cocomaricopa include the Opa of those days, together being the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom of the present paper. Previously (May 1774) he had written of the Cocomaricopa-Opa that "it appears to me that they number no less than 2500 souls between Agua Caliente and the villages of La Pasión de Tucavi [near Hassayampa Creek]," the whole span of their territory. He repeated this (November 1775), "It appears to me that this nation will number some 30 hundred souls," evidently again including those both above and below Gila Bend. This total for the combined Maricopa-Kaveltcadom is inferentially confirmed by Anza (November 1775), who gives a careful estimate of those below Gila Bend: "For, most of this tribe having come before me with the intention of not living hidden now, because of the peace which they enjoy, as well as to receive the presents .... for which purpose I have convoked them, there have assembled on the way from San Simón y Judas de Opasoitac [Gila Bend] to here [San Bernardino, above the Mohawk Mountains] scarcely fifteen hundred persons." It is palpable that he omits the population north of the Bend, where Garcés noted that the settlements were very populous. In his complete diary Anza offers direct confirmation: "The Opa or Cocomaricopa tribe .... apparently does not reach three thousand persons." The numbers seen at various villages are cited by these gentry, but they are not significant because there is no way of knowing how many had flocked to see the strangers. However, Anza (December 8, 1775) abruptly revised his estimates downward, reporting

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114 161 175 that the inhabitants of the Colorado, and the "Cocomaricopas, including the Opas," must be a third less than he had previously reported.[1]

Fifteen hundred to two thousand is not an impossible number for the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom jointly in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the same number for the Halchidhoma may well be too large. Garcés' opportunities for observation were poor. Kroeber believes that Garcés overestimated all the smaller groups on the Colorado and prefers to believe the Halchidhoma about one thousand at that time.[2]

In 1852 Bartlett credited the Pima and Maricopa jointly with not above two thousand and quoted approvingly Johnston, who estimated them as over this number. "Of the number stated by me, I was told that two thirds were Pimos,"[3] a proportion that seems to hold from the century before. By this time the Maricopa had received accessions of Halchidhoma, Kohuana, Halyikwamai, and Kaveltcadom, who collectively may have comprised half the number of these "Maricopa."

They are reported to have dwindled to 386 in 1910.[4] Today Maricopa and Halchidhoma constitute the bulk of the population, being represented in about equal numbers.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION FROM NATIVE ACCOUNTS

101 173 The ethnic configuration at the opening of the nineteenth century was described by the Maricopa as follows. The Maricopa settlements clustered on both sides of the middle Gila near Secate (at the foot of Pima Butte). They called themselves pipai' or pipa's, "men." Since their languages are identical, this was also the name the Halchidhoma applied to themselves; for distinction, they called each other respectively paĭnya', "eastern men," or paʻĭnyaxa'na, "true eastern people," and xaltcaðð'm.

[1] Coues, I, 123; II, 442; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 375, 388; III, 31; IV, 63; V, 304–5.

[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 796, 799, 883.

[3] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 263.

[4] Dixon, *Indian Population*, p. 18. [Text continues on page 6]

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101 According to Mrs. Redbird, the name xaltcaθθ'm is derived from xalya-
114 θθ'mbâg, "people with queer ways."[5] (A man who acts queerly is called pipax-
alyaθθ'mbâg). Less certainly she suggested at another time that kavĕltcaθθ'm
(see below) meant "western (or downriver) queer people." On the other hand
Kroeber recorded the divisions of the Mohave as Mat-halyadhoma and Kavilya-
dhoma, northern and southern (up- and downstream) respectively. Similarly
Forde recorded the names of two outlying settlements of the Yuma as kavĕlt-
caθum, "south (i.e., downriver) dwellers," and metvaltcaθum, "north dwellers."
He writes, "The term altcaθum, according to my informants meant 'pushed out
to a distance.'"[6] The etymologies are not incompatible.

101 The names Maricopa, and its antique form Cocomaricopa, have no meaning
according to Mrs. Redbird and others, but are recognized only as "Spanish"
names. One old man offered what I believe a folk-etymology: the Spaniards
called them "mariposa" (butterfly), because they were in the habit of painting
stripes on their faces and hair, which the Indians transposed to "maricopa."
Opa, the name given by the Spanish writers of the eighteenth century to the
people of Gila Bend, was not recognized. (It may be an abbreviation of the full
name, as Supai is in common use for Havasupai, or it may be related to their
town at Gila Bend in Spanish days, Upasoitac or Opasoitac.) The element coco—
(koko—) has no meaning. Harrington translates Maricopa (Marĭkapa') "bean
[114] people,"[7] but Mrs. Redbird, with whom this was discussed, said the form would
not be maxi'kapa but maxi'kpipa. There is yet another possibility; that Mari-
copa is a Yuma designation for them. Font remarked (1775), "Among the
101 [Yuma] women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about
838 regularly, never joining the men. The commander [Anza] called them *amari-
cados*, perhaps because the Yumas called effeminate men *maricas*."[8] While this is
not the regular Yuma word for berdache (male transvestite, elxa'; female,
kwe'rhame:[9] cf. Maricopa ll,axai' and kwlaaxamĕ'), it may be an alternative or
the jocular application of a name given the Maricopa.[10] The embattled Yuma and
[648] Maricopa were in the habit of hurling insults at each other, styling their oppo-
nents women or berdaches. Their respective mountain champions were supposed
to transform the opponents into berdaches. The word may thus be a Yuma
designation for effeminate men in general. On the other hand, this is certainly
not the Maricopa expression: an effeminate man, or one so mocked, would be
called cĭl,axai'g, "girlish" (from mâcaxai', "girl"). Maricopa informants did not
recognize Font's words.

[5] Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 759) translates Mohave halyadhompa, "odd" or "crooked."

[6] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 746; Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 102.

[7] Harrington, *Yuma Account of Origins*, p. 324.

[8] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 105.

[9] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 157.

[10] *Amaricado* and *marica* are both good Spanish, meaning effeminate man, sodomite. The latter is known from at least the seventeenth century in the form *maricon*. According to the context *marica* is by a coincidence also the Yuma word and Anza was evidently indulging in a pun.

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101 173 [197] agrees with a statement about their language: that it in no way resembled Maricopa but was not like Chemehuevi. Cahuilla and Chemehuevi do indeed belong to quite different branches of the Shoshonean stock.)[17]

The Halchidhoma (xaltcâθθ'm) were two or three days journey down river from the Mohave at the opening of the nineteenth century, that is, below Parker.

Next downstream, according to Maricopa information, were the yăvipai' kâve', "western Yavapai," who, however, did not live directly on the Colorado but in the mountains to the east.

101 114 115 175 Inquiry was made of two tribal names recorded by Oñate in 1605. At or below Parker he encountered the Bahacechas, allied with the Mohave and of the same speech. This was prior to Halchidhoma occupation of this territory. The name is clearly Yuman, but as Kroeber remarks is unidentifiable.[18] The Maricopa did not recognize it, but Mrs. Redbird suggested it might be the sib name pakĭ't mistaken for a tribal designation. She pointed out that "people would tell their sib names first, being proud of them." Collectively the people of this sib would be pakĭ'tcĭc. At the same time we must recognize that while the Halchidhoma and Maricopa have the sib pakĭ't, the Mohave do not. Oñate also reported the Ozaras on the lower Gila, extending to the shores of the sea. Kroeber's suggested possible identification with a Pima or Papago division seems plausible, since it is known that isolated bands of Piman speech were in this general locality in later times. Again Maricopa informants failed to recognize the name. Mrs. Redbird's suggestion was that it might be ose'xâm, "I am freezing," mistaken for a tribal name,[19] hence the group may have been of Yuman speech. This is not impossible since Oñate reached this group in midwinter.

101 173 The Yuma (kwĭtca'n) were three days below the Halchidhoma at the mouth of the Gila River. (The mouth was called hŏmkwĭtâva'vâ.) The informant had never heard that the Yuma lived in any location other than this. A days' journey south of the Yuma were the Kohuana (koɣwa'n; singular k'wĭn), probably on the west side of the Colorado, west or northwest of the Cocopa. They had already incorporated the Halyikwamai (xal,ikâmai'), a people of identical speech, so that koɣwa'n and xal,ikâmai' are sometimes considered interchangeable names.

[17] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 577.

[18] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 802.

[19] As the tribal name Pima is derived in error from the Piman words pia, piate, "none" (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 19).

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174 homa proper, Kohuana and Halyikwamai. Where they may have lived on the Colorado we can only conjecture, but as their language is still identical with Halchidhoma after centuries of separation (as early as Alarcon they were not numbered among the river tribes), we may assume it was somewhere near the Halchidhoma country north of the Cocopa. Their culture as well was that of the lower Colorado, but this is not thoroughly convincing evidence, for they may have acquired it in their eastern home. The date of the separation is also uncertain: it was at least before the sixteenth century, and the veriest guess would place it not many centuries earlier.[22]

101 174 Similarly, the Kaveltcadom had left the Colorado to occupy the Gila Bend district prior to the historic period. If they were indeed the Opa-Cocomaricopa of the eighteenth century, the movement occurred at least two centuries ago. Halchidhoma [173] and Maricopa informants describe them as Halchidhoma, a branch that left the main stream so long ago that tradition no longer preserves precise mention of it. They are looked on as one with the Halchidhoma in speech and blood, but distinct in culture and habitat. Today their descendants are reckoned wholly Halchidhoma: for instance, it was only at the end of my first extended stay that I learned from the informant Last Star that other Halchidhoma referred to his family as Kaveltcadom.

The earliest location of the Halchidhoma known to living Halchidhoma and Maricopa was the Colorado below Parker, from which the tribe fled just a century ago. This was in the day of parents and grandparents of these aged informants. The country as a whole was known as xaltcaðŏm n,ĭma't, "the Halchidhoma's land"; the only specific locality remembered was matkwaxwĕ'lc, at or near Parker. They lived sometimes on one or the other side of the Colorado, planting in the bottom land on levels annually inundated by the river. They made no ditches and practiced no artificial irrigation in any form (like others on

[114] [22] There is no warrant whatever for Kroeber's dogmatic statement: "It seems unlikely that they left the Colorado more than about a hundred years earlier" than Kino's advent just before 1700 (*Seri*, p. 50). Yet neither Oñate (1605) nor Alarcon (1540) mention them on the Colorado, as Kroeber elsewhere recognizes.

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By 1840 the Yuman scene had changed materially from that of the century preceding. The lower Colorado was in the hands of the Mohave upstream, the Yuma at the mouth of the Gila, and the Cocopa nearer the Gulf. But the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, tired of being battered about and unable to secure freedom from attack on the river, had gone to join the Maricopa and their Pima allies. Some remnants of the Halyikwamai and Kohuana perhaps remained: the former in the mountains southwest of the Yuma, the latter resident among the Mohave.

MARICOPA AND KAVELTCADOM SETTLEMENTS

The Maricopa have lived on the Gila above its junction with the Salt since at least 1800. Their settlements were on both sides of the river from Sacate and Pima Butte to Gila Crossing as the western limit. On mesquite gathering and fishing expeditions, they were accustomed to camp along the slough (Santa Cruz River) at the northeastern foot of the Sierra Estrella, in the Gila-Salt confluence, and on the Salt as far upstream as Phoenix, but they had no settlements there. No one lived permanently on the Salt River below the point where it emerged from the mountains. In fact, the whole of the open plain north of the Gila to the mountains was unoccupied as too exposed to Yavapai and Apache attacks.

The principal settlements were on both sides of the Gila below Sacate.[22] When the Halchidhoma came from Mexico, they established themselves below the Maricopa at Sacate, i.e., nearer Pima Butte. The Kohuana-Halyikwamai, on coming from the Colorado, settled about the sandhills on the north side two miles southeast of St. John's Mission in the direction of Gila Crossing. This mixed group was still quite large in 1850: it was said that

[Text continues on page 20.]

itary aged Kohuana woman and two Halyikwamai speaking families of young people.

[22] Lumholtz's Papago annals imply that the Maricopa were living in 1850 at Red Rock in the Santa Cruz valley. It is doubtful that this can mean a permanent settlement so far east and in Pima territory (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 74).

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

gathering mesquite in the vicinity, were on the south side of the river opposite the mouth of Hassayampa Creek. They took their names from three small hills near which they lay (probably Powers Butte, Robbins Butte, and another): kwŭtupa'ra, "the last," was the most westerly; tŭmkuva'tc, "the middle one"; the easternmost had no name. The people using these three sites about the middle of the last century were Kaveltcadom, not Maricopa, according to Last Star, himself of Kaveltcadom descent. 103 361

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE ON MARICOPA AND KAVELTCADOM TERRITORY

It seems to have been taken for granted by many writers on Arizona tribes that within the historic period the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila below the great bend. It is assumed that they are the Cocomaricopa of Spanish record and that they moved eastward to join and become absorbed by the Pima well within our own day. The foregoing record of the native view of the matter is so much at odds with this that it is necessary to examine here the early documentary evidence. 114 174

The anthropological question involved is whether Piman contacts and Pima ingredients of Maricopa culture are ancient or recent. An answer will mean much for our conception of the rapidity of cultural assimilation.

The view that the Maricopa have moved from the lower Gila seems to be wholly mistaken. This inference seems to have arisen because (1) the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century found Cocomaricopa and Opa at Gila Bend and below; (2) they met no inhabitants in nineteenth century Maricopa territory between Gila Crossing and Pima Butte; (3) the existence of the Kaveltcadom in the very territory assigned the Cocomaricopa was hitherto unknown; (4) Emory (1846) and Bartlett (1852), who found the Maricopa in the Gila Crossing-Pima Butte district, asserted that the Maricopa had moved from the lower Gila.

Are the Maricopa to be identified with the Cocomaricopa of the lower Gila? If not, where were they during the eighteenth century?

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174 The argument of these questions will take the following form. I will try to show that the identification is uncertain; that the Spanish Cocomaricopa-Opa jointly are the Kaveltcadom, or at best Kaveltcadom and Maricopa collectively. It appears to me that the Spaniards did not know how to apply these two names; did not know whether they were alternative terms for the people at Gila Bend or referred to two tribes. It would seem that finally they decided arbitrarily on the latter alternative. It is true that they found no one living in the Gila Crossing–Pima Butte region. They did find natives in the northern part of the great bend of the Gila (the Hassayampa district) and near the mouth of the Salt River. Since this is above the territory of the Kaveltcadom as described by my informants, it may be that these natives were Maricopa. This then might mean that about 1775 the Maricopa were living from the Salt-Gila confluence down to Gila Bend and that about the beginning of the nineteenth century they moved eastward to Gila Crossing–Pima Butte. This is a shift of only thirty or forty miles; not at all the supposed major dislocation from a lower Gila home.

The matter cannot be wholly resolved. We must reckon with the unanimous opinion of the Maricopa that they have always lived in the general vicinity of Gila Crossing–Pima Butte. Since their memories are demonstrably correct on events back to 1825–30, there is no reason why they should not be aware of a shift of location fifty years earlier or less. The region of the Salt-Gila confluence and downstream to Hassayampa is declared to have been Maricopa hunting grounds in the first half of the nineteenth century. It may well be that, when stating that they have always lived in their present location, a shift from the lower part of their territory was ignored as of no consequence.

[114] The statements of Emory and Bartlett, that the Maricopa moved from the lower Gila, are demonstrably confused references to the eastward movement of the Colorado tribes (Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai) in 1825–30 and 1838–39.

The minor eastward shift of the Maricopa suggested here has, of course, no direct bearing on the inference that at some time in the indefinite past they were living on the lower Colorado (p. 11).

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This is based solely on their close linguistic affinity to Yuma, Halchidhoma, and Mohave.

Our first question then concerns the identification of the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom with the Cocomaricopa and Opa of the Spanish records. Fortunately we have illuminating sets of data at intervals covering three centuries: Kino and Manje in 1694–1700, Anza, Garcés, Font, and Diaz in 1774–75, and Bartlett in 1852. It seems advisable to present this documentary evidence in some detail.[43]

In Kino's day (1694–1700) the occupation of this region was somewhat different from that described by native testimony as of 1850. Northern Sonora and the interior south of the Gila River were occupied by Pima. The modern division into Papago and Pima was not recognized, but the Pima of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Rivers were set off from those to the south as Sobaipuris or Pimas Sobaipuris. They occupied the San Pedro from roughly the vicinity of the present Tombstone northward to the Gila, and the Santa Cruz valley from Tucson to about Red Rock.[44] But most significantly for our present purpose, the middle Gila from Casa Grande to Gila Crossing, in its western part the traditional home of the Maricopa, seems to have contained Sobaipuris Pima villages alone. The Cocomaricopas and Opas, who were by inference from Kino's memoir linked tribes, were placed on the Gila from Gila Bend westward to the Mohawk Mountains. This is precisely the territory assigned by my native informants to the Kaveltcadom and to them alone. The inference from Kino's record alone would be that since the opening of the eighteenth century the Maricopa shifted from below and about Gila Bend to the district above, settling with the Pima in the direction of Casa Grande, leaving the Kaveltcadom behind or being replaced by them.

The details are worth pursuing. It must be borne in mind that while Kino traversed the Gila from Casa Grande downstream several times, he is nowhere explicit as to tribal occupation. Fur-

[43] These are by no means all the records from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but are by far the most complete and significant.

[44] Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, 170, n. 193, 173.

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ther, his point of view was that of the Pima, as is borne out by the names of the Cocomaricopa settlements, which appear in general to be Piman in form, not Yuman.[45]

Kino reached Casa Grande for the first time in November 1694. He found two rancherías beyond: El Tusonimo, four leagues to the west, and four leagues still farther west, El Coatoydag (San Andres). He does not name the occupants, merely implies that they were Pima, and remarks of two nations farther on (i.e., to the west, to the northwest on Salt River [Rio Azul], and on the Colorado), that "they speak a language very different." He designates them Cocomaricopas and Opas. In November 1697 he observed that six or seven rancherías of Pimas Sobaipuris lay near Casa Grande. At San Andres he spoke with some Cocomaricopas and "even sent them messages," implying that they were not residents of this village which lay in the general vicinity of Sacaton. In September (?) of the following year there came to San Andres Opas and Cocomaricopas, "who are a people of very distinct dress, features, and language, though connected by marriage with the Pimas." So far there is nothing in the evidence to prove that the Maricopa did not live on the Gila between Sacaton and the Salt River junction; on the contrary, since they are mentioned as on the lower Salt, part of their habitat according to native information, they may well have lived in the Sacate–Gila Crossing district. But according to Manje's account, a Pima village (San Bartolomé) was found three leagues above the junction of the Gila and Salt (in this account called the Rio Verde). This point would be Gila Crossing or somewhat to the west; that is, in historic Maricopa territory. We are confronted with two alternatives: either this was an isolated Piman village among the Maricopa (although no other villages are mentioned) or it was not then Maricopa territory. The best interpretation would be that the Maricopa were at the time chiefly resident in the general vicinity of Gila Bend, and near or on the

[45] All the place names given by Kino, Sedelmair, and the Anza party were discussed with Maricopa informants. Beyond suggesting that Kino's Tutto was kwâku'p and Sedelmair's Caborh was kukupu'aanyiva'c, none of the names were recognized. They, too, thought the words Piman in origin.

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175 361 well with our information. If Tutto was at or near Gila Bend, more than half the distance downstream takes us to the Mohawk Mountains; then comes the unoccupied territory extending slightly less than halfway to the Colorado, that is, to between Wellton and Dome, the known upper limit of the Yuma. The villages cannot be identified beyond this. Tutto seems to have been the principal village and may therefore be our kwaku'p, situated immediately west of the Painted Rock Mountains. The implication of the itinerary of 1700 is that all the Cocomaricopa villages were south of the Gila, which agrees with our information.

101 175 It is noteworthy that Kino ceased to mention the Opas in the later part of his record. It is also clearly implied that under Piman tutelage he designated the Cocomaricopas and Opas separately. Further, the languages of the Opas, Cocomaricopas, and [197] Yuma are said to be one,[4] that is not only Yuman, but specifically of the Yuma-Maricopa division. A possible implication is that the Opas, if they really formed a separate group, may have been the Kaveltcadom.

114 175 361 Sedelmair's information (1744) is brief and vague. He lists a score of Cocomaricopa rancherías within a span of thirty-six leagues downstream from what was apparently Gila Bend, beyond which by forty-five leagues lay the Colorado.

175 [114] The distribution given by Kino is confirmed and our inferences augmented by the information given seventy-five years after him by Garcés, Anza, Font, and Diaz. In May 1774 Anza and Diaz traversed the Gila from its mouth eastward nearly to Casa Grande. In June of the same year Garcés made a detour from Gila Bend to the north and east along the course of the Gila to the same terminal point near Casa Grande. As all other Spanish chroniclers cut off this segment of the river by taking the direct route from the Bend to the Pima villages, his excursion proves of the utmost significance for our purpose. The following year, in November, Anza, Font, and Garcés made the reverse traverse from near Casa Grande to the Colorado.

175 361 On the upstream journey in 1774 Anza reached the first village of the Cocomaricopa six leagues above the easily identifiable Mo-

[4] Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 195.

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Upasoitac, this river and its adjacent watering places are inhabited by Opas, Tutumaopas, and Cocomaricopas, none of which are different from the Yumas in anything, either in language or in any of their native qualities." After fifteen leagues he arrived at "the first pueblo of the heathen Pimas, called Sutaquison," and at the last Pima village in three leagues more. The Pima were confined to a space of three leagues on both banks of the river, with six villages within this span. Diaz's observations differ from Anza's only in noting the presence of two Opa villages a short distance below Gila Bend.[38]

Three parallel accounts are given for the westward journey down the Gila in November 1775, which followed the route of the previous year. All three set the distance from Casa Grande to the easterly Piman village, Uturituc, at seven leagues. From here to Sutaquison was four leagues (or two), with "two large villages of Pimas" between, or as Font wrote, "two smaller pueblos." Font wrote on Pima occupation of this tract, that "in the district of some six leagues there are five towns, the four above mentioned on this [south] side of the river, and one on the other side which Father Garcés called San Serafino de Nabcúb." It is noteworthy that, unlike Kino, none of these chroniclers leave the implication that Maricopa were living among these Pima. It is of further importance to note that the party spent several days at certain rain pools two leagues to the west of Sutaquison, that is in the vicinity of Pima Butte. In the middle of the nineteenth century this was in the heart of Maricopa territory, but none of the three chroniclers mention any settlements in the vicinity. Sixteen or seventeen leagues after leaving Sutaquison, they reached Opasoitac (Uparsoytac, "the settlement of the Opas") at Gila Bend by the direct route, without noting any signs of occupations in all the intervening territory. "Some villages of Opas," which Anza called Rancherías de San Martín, were reached two short leagues west of Opasoitac, and in four or five more some ranchos (San Diego) at the eastern foot of the Painted Rock Mountains. Anza remarks that from Opasoitac to this place "we have come through continuous villages and signs of

[114]

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 300-305.

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cultivation." Agua Caliente, on the north bank, was reached in another eight leagues: this year the place held two hundred people. Garcés wrote, "Immediately in this position are the rancherías called San Bernardino, and they are of the same nation" as those above at Gila Bend, or as Font had it, "This place and its district were named San Bernardino del Agua Caliente." The point is that this cannot be the San Bernardino of the eastward journey of 1774, because that was explicitly on the south bank and five leagues downstream. In fact at their next halt seven leagues down from Agua Caliente, Anza wrote, "A little above this place is San Bernardino, last of the habitations of the Opas or Cocomaricopas, who are one and the same." Further, at Agua Caliente Garcés had written, "Here is where ends this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one; though nevertheless some of them are found further down river," presumably at or near the San Bernardino of the previous year. Evidently there were settlements both at Agua Caliente and here five leagues below. Confirming Garcés' remark on this as the western end of Opa-Cocomaricopa territory, Anza remarks at the lower San Bernardino, "all the country from here as far as the Yumas is unpopulated."

Localities from here westward to the Colorado are easily identified. The Mohawk Mountains were eleven and a half leagues below Agua Caliente (Anza) or fifteen (Font and Garcés). Five or six leagues westward was Antelope Hill. Both Font and Garcés note that this was called "metate hill" by the Indians, precisely the name given it by my Maricopa informants. The mouth of the Gila was fifteen to seventeen leagues beyond.[51]

To marshal all the evidence for the position of the Pima and Opa-Cocomaricopa settlements on the river, I present Table I giving the distances traversed in leagues. Obviously the travellers differed in their conception of each day's march or of the length of the league. How far they diverged is exemplified by the total distance from Uturitue (the eastern Pima pueblo) to the Mohawk Mountains: from thirty-five to fifty-one leagues. Font and Garcés either collaborated or copied one another's itinerary. Anza's record of the westward journey of 1775 appeals to me as the most precise: figuring two and two-thirds English statute miles to the Spanish league, it yields admirable results between fixed points when scaled on a map.

[51] *Ibid.*, III, 15–41, 214–24; IV, 34–71; Coues, I, 65–130.

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Maricopa

175 361 Important information on the occupation of the Gila above Gila Bend can be derived from Garcés' account of a detour he made in June 1774.[23] Instead of taking a direct course due eastward from Gila Bend to the Pima villages below Casa Grande as

TABLE I

DISTANCES FROM CASA GRANDE TO THE COLORADO RIVER

114 361 175

	EASTWARD, 1774		WESTWARD, 1775		
	ANZA	DIAZ	ANZA	FONT	GARCÉS
Casa Grande to Uturituc	4	.....	7	7	7
Uturituc to Sutaquison (Casa Blanca)	2	3	2	4	4
Sutaquison to Opasoitac (Gila Bend)	13	15	16	17	17
Opasoitac to San Martín	.....	1	1½±	2−	2
San Martín to San Diego (east of Painted Rock)	.....	4	4	5	5
Opasoitac to Painted Rock	3	.....	.....	.....	...
San Diego to Aritoac (river crossing)	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
San Diego to Agua Caliente	.....	.....	8	8	8
Painted Rock to Agua Caliente	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Aritoac to San Bernardino	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Agua Caliente to San Bernardino	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Agua Caliente to below San Bernardino	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
Agua Caliente to Mohawk Mountains	.....	.....	.....	15	15
San Bernardino to Mohawk Mountains	6	7	.....	.....	.....
Below San Bernardino to Mohawk Mountains	.....	.....	4½	.....	.....
Mohawk Mountains to Antelope Hill	.....	.....	5	6+	6
Mohawk Mountains to Colorado River	17(18)	19	.....	.....	.....
Antelope Hill to Colorado River	.....	.....	15	16	17
Uturituc to Mohawk Mountains	35	44	43	51	51
Gila Bend to Colorado River	37(38)	45	45	52	53

175 361 all others had done, he followed the river north from the Bend, east to the Salt River junction, and up its course nearly to Casa Grande. Leaving Uparsoytac (Gila Bend), he found a village called Tugsapi six leagues north, presumably below the present Gillispie Dam. Two leagues north was Tucabi (Tugabi), which by his statement must have been a straggling settlement two and

[23] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 388–89.

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Maricopa

a half leagues in extent. This was presumably in the general vicinity of Hassayampa Creek. Both these places were evidently on the left bank of the Gila. Since he does not state that the people occupying these settlements differed from those of Gila Bend, we may plausibly infer that they were Opa-Cocomaricopa.[53] Still following the south bank, after seven and a half leagues Garcés met people of Sutaquison (the Pima village) gathering sahuaro fruit, and five leagues beyond he reached the Pima villages named below ("three pueblos with many people"). If Sutaquison was in the vicinity of Casa Blanca, as all other records indicate, he met these Pima on Santa Cruz slough midway of Sierra Estrella, that is, in what was later Maricopa territory. Garcés then adds to our knowledge of Pima occupation: on the north side of the Gila a league east of Sutaquison he found a large pueblo called Nacub and in a little more than another league, but on the south side, a "very populous" settlement, Tuburs Cabors. Uturituc was reached a little more than a league beyond. Now he adds an easternmost Pima village (Pitac) three leagues east, which none of the others mention.

To bring this long consideration of observations in 1774–75 to a head, they may be summarized as follows. Pima villages occupied both sides of the Gila from some distance below Casa Grande westward to Casa Blanca and perhaps beyond. There is no mention of encountering Yuman speaking peoples in the district, and more significantly, the region west of Pima Butte, that is, the heart of Maricopa territory in 1850, was unoccupied. Opa and Cocomaricopa held the Gila from below the Salt River junction downstream to San Bernardino, sixteen to nineteen miles above the Mohawk Mountains. Their villages were all on the left bank, with the exception of Agua Caliente, and were concentrated in the fifteen or twenty mile stretch from Gila Bend down to the Painted Rock Mountains. Below the Mohawk Mountains the country was uninhabited until the Yuma were reached near the mouth of the Gila.

All this is as closely confirmatory of Kino's information as one should reasonably expect. The accounts of 1694–1700 and of

[53] Bolton also assumes this.

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1774–75 agree rather precisely for the Gila below Gila Bend. Kino's reference to Yumans "to the northwest on the Rio Azul" (that is from the direction of the Pima villages) should perhaps now be interpreted to mean on the Gila below the Salt junction where Garcés found them. But since Garcés did not traverse the Salt River, it may well be that they were also on its extreme lower course. In any event the Maricopa could have been but a short distance west of their position of the following century.

To return to the identification of the names Cocomaricopa and Opa. The chroniclers of 1774–75 used the terms as though synonymous or at least implied that there was no distinction of moment between them. At Opasoitac (Gila Bend) Anza wrote in 1774, "This place is well peopled by these Cocomaricopa, and others who really are the same, although they call them Opas," and again in 1775, "the tribe of the Opas and Cocomaricopas," in the singular. At the other end of his march he spoke of "San Bernardino, last of the habitations of Opas or Cocomaricopas, who are one and the same." Diaz alone wrote that the district between Opasoitac and San Bernardino was "inhabited by Opas, Tutumaopas, and Cocomaricopas," mentioning a third people, but Diaz was the most casual of the four chroniclers.

Garcés' manner of reference is especially significant. Twice he wrote, "the Opa nation, or Cocomaricopa, which is the same" and "this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one," as though these were synonyms. But he may have meant to distinguish two divisions of one people, or at least linked groups. Later in his diary he ignores the Opa, referring regularly to the Cocomaricopa.[54] There is, however, an important exception to this: on his return journey (1776) through their settlements he speaks of arriving among "the Cocomaricopas of the Agua Caliente" and later "continued my journey, visiting the rancherias of the Opas." This would seem to make a distinction, with the Opa upstream of the Cocomaricopa. This may also be inferred from Font's statements: he wrote of Opasoitac as a "settlement of the Opas" and of "some villages of Opas" just below.

[54] Note that he refers only to Cocomaricopa in his tabular summary of tribal populations (Coues, II, 443).

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

But at Agua Caliente, "Many Cocomaricopa Indians assembled to see us. They are the same as the Opas, but are distinguished in name by the district they inhabit." Again he remarked, "I may note that the Opas and Cocomaricopas are one and the same tribe." Anza writing in retrospect also makes the distinction: "Ascending the Gila from the junction [with the Colorado], we have a desert for about fifteen leagues, till we come to the first village of the Cocomaricopas, after which come the Opas and Pimas, whose last pueblo must be about fifty leagues from the junction."[55]

Here is conflicting testimony: either the Opa and Cocomaricopa were a single people or they were two tribes identical in language and customs and perhaps occupying somewhat distinct territories. My interpretation is that the natives recognized a distinction between two peoples who may have occupied joint territory (as the Maricopa and their guest tribes did in the following century), and that the Spanish, failing to see how the distinction applied, came finally to state that the Cocomaricopa were below and the Opa above, which may not have been the geographic relation at all. If then there was truly a distinction between the two, and the Cocomaricopa are to be identified with the Maricopa of our day, I do not see that we can avoid the implication that the Opa were the Kaveltcadom.[56]

By the middle of the nineteenth century the lower Gila was abandoned and the Maricopa were found in the position assigned them by native testimony. Emory in 1846 and Bartlett in 1852 found the Gila unoccupied for two hundred miles above its mouth. Emory's testimony is that the Maricopa occupied the Gila valley from a point identifiable as the Maricopa Wells–Sacate district to north of the Salt River.[57] Bartlett found the most westerly Maricopa village a mile or more east of a point

[55] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 124, 238, 301; III, 23, 31; IV, 46, 57; V, 391; Coues, I, 113, 123; II, 436.

[56] The name Opa may be simply the common Yuman stem apa', "man." If it is permissible to identify it in the name of their village Opasoitac, as commonly Upasoitac, this would be confirmation, since the latter (upa) more closely resembles the Yuman pronunciation.

[57] Emory, p. 86.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

175 361 later to be known as Maricopa Wells; that is, in the neighborhood of Pima Butte or Sacate. From this point eastward Maricopa and Pima occupation was continuous for twelve or fifteen miles along the south side of the Gila.[58]

"The valley or bottom-land occupied by the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas extends about fifteen miles along the south side of the Gila, and is from two to four miles in width, nearly the whole being occupied by the villages and cultivated fields. The Pimos occupy the eastern portion. There is no dividing line between them, nor anything to distinguish the villages of one from the other. The whole of this plain is intersected by irrigating canals from the Gila, by which they are enabled to control the waters, and raise the most luxuriant crops. At the western end of the valley is a rich tract of grass, where we had our encampment [Maricopa Wells]. This is a mile or more [west] from the nearest village of the Coco-Maricopas. On the northern side of the river there is less bottom-land, and the irrigation is more difficult. There are a few cultivated spots here; but it is too much exposed to the attacks of their enemies for either tribe to reside upon it."

Several unoccupied houses were found on the Salt River about twelve miles above its mouth, i.e., just below Phoenix.

"Francisco [a Maricopa] told us they were used by his people and the Pimos when they came here to fish. He also told us that two years before, when the cholera appeared among them, they abandoned their dwellings on the Gila and came here to escape the pestilence."

This agrees precisely with my information on the location of settlements and fishing stations in the 1850s.

The Kaveltcadom had left the lower Gila and Gila Bend before this day. Emory found at Gila Bend signs of "modern Indian tenements" but the place was unoccupied, as indeed was the whole span to the Colorado River. He wrote:

"We know the Maricopas have moved gradually from the gulf of California to their present location in juxta position with the Pimos. Carson found them, so late as the year 1826, at the mouth of the Gila; and Dr. Anderson, who passed from Sonora to California in 1828, found them, as near as we could reckon from his notes, about the place we are now encamped in [Gila Bend]. The shells we found today were, in my opinion, evidently brought by the Maricopas from the sea. They differ from those we found among the ruins."[59]

[58] *Personal Narrative*, II, 179, 210, 215, 232, 241. Bartlett had excellent opportunity for observation. He followed the Gila closely from its mouth to above Casa Grande, leaving it only between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells. He also made a circuit from Maricopa Wells north to the Salt River, reaching it at a point about twelve miles above its mouth, thence up the Salt to the mountains, and south to the Pima villages. [114]

[59] Emory, p. 89. Carson was a member of his party. Incidentally, Emory is notorious as a careless observer. [114]

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai
Kohuana

The testimony is that the lower Gila was occupied until at least 175
1828, but there is nothing to show with certainty that its inhab-
itants were Maricopa rather than Kaveltcadom or some other
Yuman speaking group. Emory's assertion that the Maricopa [114]
moved from the Gulf is pure inference. The evidence of the
shells, of course, certifies nothing.

Bartlett also found no settlements on the lower Gila. He was 174
told by a Maricopa that

> "the Cocomaricopas came here not many years before, to escape from the Yumas, with whom they were constantly at war, and by whom they had been greatly reduced in numbers. Their former range was along the valley of the Gila, on the opposite side of the Jornada and toward the Colorado. [The Jornada here referred to is the desert stretch between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells.] Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection. . . . . The Coco-Maricopas took up their abode in the valley immediately adjoining the Pimos about thirty years since [1820–25], from a point lower down the Gila, where they were exposed to the constant attacks of the Yumas and the Apaches, which tribes, in consequence of their greater numbers, had nearly annihilated them. They came hither for protection, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Pimos."[66]

These "Coco-Maricopa" must be the Kaveltcadom. Bartlett [114]
must have been confusing their abandonment of the lower Gila
with traditions of the Halchidhoma flight from the Colorado
about 1825. It is of course quite possible that the Kaveltcadom
abandoned their settlements at the time of the Halchidhoma
hegira, or immediately after, being then exposed to the Yuma
attacks, but they were certainly at Gila Bend about 1835 when
Halchidhoma visitors were slain there by the Mohave. The final
abandonment of Kaveltcadom territory must therefore have oc-
curred after 1835 and before 1846.

Apparently we have here the origin of the current but errone- [197]
ous notion that the Maricopa have traditional knowledge of
their own former position on the Colorado. There is of course
solid linguistic evidence connecting them with the Colorado Yu- [101]
mans, but there is no traditional knowledge that the Maricopa
themselves migrated thence. The Kaveltcadom, Halchidhoma,
Kohuana, and Halyikwamai have been indiscriminately called
Cocomaricopa with their Maricopa hosts, and their movements

[66] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 221, 262.

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Kohuana Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai

174 [101] from the lower Gila and the Colorado assigned to the latter.[61] Bartlett himself asserts no more than that the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila, and places the blame for assigning their earlier habitat to the Colorado on Emory. He quotes the latter's affirmation that the Maricopa moved gradually from the Gulf of California, adding "I cannot learn that they ever were on the Gulf."[62] The former position of the Maricopa on the Colorado must remain an inference.

175 361 To summarize, after this long excursion into the documentary evidence, we can assert with some confidence that during the eighteenth century the Maricopa were occupying the Gila from the Salt River junction down toward Gila Bend, with the Kaveltcadom below them from Gila Bend to within twenty miles of the Mohawk Range. There may have been Maricopa settled on the extreme lower course of the Salt and even on the Gila immediately above the junction with the Salt, although this is frankly a supposition. At any rate the region of the junction may well have been their fishing and mesquite gathering territory. Some such use may also have been made of the Gila bottoms eastward to Pima Butte. From Gila Bend downstream the two tribes may have occupied the river bottom jointly. By 1825–30 the Maricopa had shifted their locus upstream thirty or forty miles to the Gila Crossing–Pima Butte district. Here they were joined by the Halchidhoma between 1833 and 1838, with the Kohuana and Halyikwamai following in 1838 and 1839. More or less simultaneously with Maricopa occupation of the middle Gila near the Pima, the latter received increments of their own people from the Santa Cruz valley, abandoned by reason of Apache pressure. In 1835–38 the Kaveltcadom were still at Gila Bend, although they may by that time have left the river below Painted Rock. By 1852 all 175 [101] the Kaveltcadom had joined the Maricopa in the Sacate district.

It was the fact that the existence of the Kaveltcadom was

[61] For example, Curtis (II, 81) states that vague Maricopa, Yuma, and Mohave tradition relates that the Maricopa once lived on the Colorado between the Mohave and Yuma, making their way up the Gila in a series of movements. There is nothing to show that the reference is not to the allied tribes rather than to the Maricopa. [114]

[62] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 269.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

Bartlett's observations on hairdress among Pima and Maricopa confirm my information. "Nothing is worn on the head [by women], nor is the hair ever tied up. In front it is cut off square across the eyebrows; the rest is suffered to hang loosely over the ears, neck, and about half way down the back, affording a protection to these parts from the intense heat of the sun. . . . . The head-band is worn by nearly all the men gracefully put on in several folds, with the braided ends hanging down on their shoulders. They also have a large woolen cord, from half an inch to an inch in diameter, of different colors, which they use as a head ornament, twining it around the hair. . . . . The men wear their hair long, never cutting it except across the eyebrows, down to which it hangs, and thus partially protects the eyes. When loosed, their hair reaches to their knees; but usually it is clubbed up in a large mass on their backs. Their earlocks either hang loose, or are braided in several strands, with little ornaments of bone, tin, or red cloth attached to them. But the decoration of their heads with the bands of which I have spoken, forms the most picturesque part of their costume. They have a singular practice of filling their hair with clay; so that when dry it resembles a great turban." He also described the hairdress of a war party: "Some had them [their head dresses] plastered with clay, so as to resemble huge turbans. Others had decorated the great club of hair which hung down their backs with bits of scarlet cloth, but more of them with the richly-figured sashes of their own manufacture. Some again wore their hair in braids tastefully wound around their heads, intermingled with pieces of scarlet cloth; while a few, less particular of their appearance, wore it clubbed up in a huge mass."[17]

Font declared the coiffure of the Kaveltcadom-Maricopa of Gila Bend the same as that of the Pima, which he described as follows: "The coiffure which the men practice with their hair is peculiar. They take a woolen cord, thin like the finger and long like a halter rope. Doubling it up they insert it in the hair. With the long end they tie it together and twist it over the head from the left side to the right, and then secure it with the loose end, giving it one or two turns around the head. In this way they carry on their heads a creat like a crown, in which they insert their feathers, little sticks, and other ornaments. The women wear their hair hanging down their backs and over their ears, banging it in front even with the eyes or the eyebrows."[18] I interpret his description of men's hairdress as a band twined into and wound around a mass of braids, themselves wound around the head.

Infants of both sexes had their hair singed all over the head with a little firebrand. This was done only by a person having nice thick hair, presumably so that the child's hair would also grow well. When a boy was two years old, a man who knew how was requested to trim it. He singed it short on the crown in a counter-clockwise spiral, leaving the forelock to be cut off at the

[17] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 216, 228–30.

[18] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, IV, 49, 52; cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 159.

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Maricopa

The loom products had little variety: coarse, thin cotton blankets of small size, a skirt for a girl during her puberty rite, men's belts, old men's headbands, and the binding bands for cradles were all they had. The cotton blankets served as bedding: they may sometimes have been used to draw over the shoulders but they were certainly not a part of the ordinary costume. The poncho was unknown and cloth was never deliberately cut to make a garment. All of the articles were made of cotton yarn. The blankets were plain, except such as may have had a decorated selvage; the narrow bands invariably had designs.

The weaving art is now moribund, only cradle bands being made and but few of these. Hence it is difficult to get wholly adequate information. With the aid of a make-shift loom we attempted to get a description of blanket weaving from old Kutox, but he, nearly blind and with crippled fingers, could not demonstrate at crucial points. Last Star, who had himself never seen weaving, gave what must be an essentially correct account of blanket weaving. On the other hand, thoroughly adequate information on the making of cradle bands was had from Mary Juan, a young and skillful weaver, who wove at my request.

Bartlett's information on Pima and Maricopa confirms mine.

"Cotton is raised by them, which they spin and weave. Their only manufactures consist of blankets of various textures and sizes; a heavy cloth of the same material used by the women to put around their loins; and an article from three to four inches wide, used as a band for the head, or a girdle for the waist. The blankets are woven with large threads, slightly twisted and without any nap. They are made of white cotton, and are without ornament of colors or figures, save a narrow selvage of buff. . . . . The operation, of course, progresses slowly; and from the length of time consumed in spinning and weaving, they set a high price upon their blankets, asking for these ten or twelve dollars in money, or a new woolen blanket of equal size. The weaving is generally done by the old men."

Bartlett's illustration shows the weaver sitting on the finished portion of the blanket he has under way.[6]

Loom products were considered quite valuable, especially the cotton blankets. These were about the size of our small bed

[6] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 224–26.

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286 blankets, just large enough barely to cover a single person. Larger ones took too long to weave. A blanket of the usual size was three weeks in the making; preparing the cotton, spinning the
286 needed amount of yarn, and completing the weaving. Blankets
439 were traded to the Papago for horses. According to my information the Papago did not weave, but Curtis gives evidence that they did.[7] The rate of exchange in the middle of the last century was a single blanket for a poor horse, two for a good one.[8] This furnishes some index of their high value, for the Maricopa were so poor in horses, that they still thought nothing of going long distances afoot and considered even a relatively poor horse a worthwhile acquisition. The only horses they had were those
[231] gotten by such trade. The Papago, on the other hand, were relatively rich in horses since they were situated much nearer the Mexican villages.

286 Weaving was properly man's work. There was, however, a di-
462 vision of labor such that preparing the cotton (ginning) was done by women alone, both sexes spun yarn, while weaving was solely in the hands of old men. When cloth and blankets became avail-
[177] able from traders, the old art waned and man's part in it lapsed entirely. Nowadays only women weave, making only cradle bands as part of their construction of cradles. Only commercial yarns are now used. Some knowledge still persists among the older men, however: Kutox, who had never woven, demonstrated with a spindle, exhibiting the typical draft motion and smoothing the yarn like an accomplished spinner. Both women
●114 and men formerly wove bands, according to Hrdlička's informa-
286 tion of 1902 and 1905.[9] While the objects he discussed in his brief
462 account were cradle bands, it is conceivable that his informants were implying that women wove cradle bands while men made their own belts and headbands, if they were not in fact referring only to the period of transition. More serious is the implication of his statement that an old Maricopa made several blankets in

[7] Curtis, II, 6, 82, 111, 116.

[8] The same rate prevailed among the Pima (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 149).

[9] Hrdlička, *Maricopa Weaving*.

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Maricopa

his youth. It was, by my evidence, an old man's art, yet this observation that a young man wove or assisted may be true.

Cotton was alone used in weaving. Such possible substitutes as mountain sheep or dog hair were not used. Nor was sheep wool used since the advent of the whites: so far as I know, the Maricopa neither own sheep now nor had them formerly. The cotton cultivated in earlier days was white, not brown; growing on bushes waist-high or little more, and not like the man-high bushes of modern varieties of cotton grown in this district. It proved impossible to obtain any specimens of ancient cotton: it has entirely disappeared. Hrdlička observed (1905):

> According to information obtained from an old Maricopa, about forty years ago the people of his tribe planted native cotton, with which the men wove large decorated blankets.

They ginned the cotton by first beating it with a little stick. Then, spreading it on a flat stone, they rolled a smooth arrowweed across it to remove the seeds. This lap was layed aside; then others were similarly prepared and laid on the first. This was women's work alone. Day after day was spent in preparation until the necessary amount was accumulated.

The cleaned cotton was then spread on a smooth spot on the ground, over which clean sand had been sprinkled. A scraped arrowweed, about the size of an arrow, was strung to form a taut little bow. The bowstring was held close above the cotton and then plucked. The "tooth" of the string caught up the loose fibers; its vibration wrapped them into a compact roll around the string. This was then pulled off the string to serve as a sliver ready for spinning.[10] The first step was to roll the sliver into a loose yarn between palm and thigh.

[10] The cotton plucking bow must have had an interesting history in America: its ultimate source was Asia. My Maricopa informant ascribed its use to the Pima as well. He did not know whether the Papago had it. Doubtless they had, for, farther south Dr. Ralph Beals found it in 1931 in use among the Mayo (near the Rio Mayo and Navajoa, Sonora) for plucking wool fibers for spinning. The source for these tribes must have been the missions of northern Mexico. It occurs in South America, where Nordenskiöld records its distribution through the southern Amazon basin and southward. He writes: "We have here a cultural element that the Indians probably got from the Portuguese, presumably, as in the case of

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element was devil claw (martynia: gwŏxtŏ'n, both plant and seed pod) on the base and split willow on the sides. The base was always made of devil claw, which, being tough, would stand dragging across the ground. The number of split tules in the foundation was ordinarily not counted, but if a finely sewn basket was desired, these were five. Naturally the slimness of the coil would depend on how thin were these tule elements. Ordinarily the width of the coil was about the same as in Pima baskets, i.e., about one-quarter inch. They preferred to weave them of such fineness because they were valuable: "they took so long to weave." A finely woven basket wore well. The attitude was that if they troubled to make them at all, pain should be taken to make a close fabric. Designs in black devil claw appeared on the sides. These were similar to some employed on Pima bowl-baskets, and were arranged in two encircling bands, one above the other.

Coiling of the base was in a clockwise direction, sewing on the edge farthest from the basket maker (the inside of the basket facing up), the free end of the foundation protruding to the right. This was continued up the sides, i.e., working on the far edge in a clockwise direction, the basket standing upright. A left-handed worker coiled in the opposite direction. The sewing was done with the aid of an awl. Basket coiling was called hapo'vŭk (or hapu'vĭc), which was an alternative name for weaving on the loom.

Such burden baskets were called iyal,ĭpai'ic, "mesquite basket," because they were primarily intended for use when gathering that fruit. When the basket was packed full of the beans, short sticks were inserted between them and the sides in order that an overload could be piled above. This was carried on the head supported, like a pot, on a ring made of the inner bark of the willow. The basket lacked loops and was not carried with a pack strap.

The netted carrying frame of the Pima and Papago was not made.[16]

[16] Bartlett stated that both Maricopa and Pima used this frame, but he was certainly mistaken (*Personal Narrative*, II, 236).

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372 used. They did not make short travelling sets, like the Havasupai. The drill was called aun,ĭmĭk,ai′ or a′au′giă′m, "fire [192] shooter"; the hearth had no name; tinder was hanâv^{a}su′t.

A strike-a-light (augwĭnyata′vâ, "fire striker") was used when [484] travelling; striking flint against quartz. A rolled cotton cord was carried for tinder in a hollow cow horn. The use of the strike-a-[173] light and this tinder horn was said to be ancient but I am dubious. For one thing, I was told the horn was anciently that of a mountain sheep, but it is clear that they would not use the horn of this animal under any circumstances. The slow-match for carrying fire was unknown.[37]

412 Of *stone knives* (^{a}ẋâkwĭ′, n,ĭẋakwĭ′, ^{a}viru′v^{a}, ḳwarâo′) all that is known is that these were made of dark obsidian (kwalacau′) found near the Salt River, where it was rare. This may have been flint rather than obsidian, because it was said also to have been used for striking fire. The informant knew nothing of their handles, nor if the blade was set in the side of the handle scalpel-wise.

Stone axes were not made, and those found in nearby ruins were used primarily to dress metates to shape.

Ladles were made of wood as well as clay. Wooden ladles may 415 always have been of mesquite which is sufficiently dense to carve nicely. Several seen had small circular bowls, conical below; another an elliptical bowl, rounded below; both having long straight handles in the plane of the bowl (Pl. XIV, *a*, *b*).[38] These were about a foot to sixteen inches in length. I am inclined to [114] agree with Russell that wooden ladles, at least those with conical [177] bowls, were a recent acquisition. He states that they were derived from the Mexicans through the Papago.[39] The ladle with the conical bowl is certainly like old European forms. Wood-[322] working was little developed: wooden bowls were not made.

[37] But Garcés' Halchidhoma travelling companion in June 1774 "carried a firebrand in one hand all the way [Ehrenberg to Agua Caliente], and it did not go out" (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 387). Since it was summer, this must have been for the purpose of starting camp fires, not the torch carried for warmth by other lower Colorado Yumans.

[38] Washington State Museum, Nos. 2–11872 (or 73) and 2–11871, respectively.

[39] *Pima Indians*, p. 101.

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A short stabbing pike was sometimes used. This was simply a pointed wooden shaft, four or five feet long. A specimen was made for me[40] from the flower stalk of a narrow-leafed yucca (? bear grass; mahwĭ'tăma'cĭc, "bear eats"). It is painted red, with a feather pendant from the butt, and has the tip fashioned somewhat like a spear head. Charlie Redbird, who made it, said that these sometimes bore stone heads, but I am doubtful. 411 713 [531]

The native names of these weapons and their parts were as follows: bow, uti'c; bowstring, gwĭcĭma'c, "sinew," or descriptively gwĭcĭma'c uti'c muθau'wĭc, "sinew stretched on a bow"; arrow, ipa"; reed arrow, ipa"axta'c; wooden arrow, ipa"i'i; arrowhead, cĭu'ly or tcĭu'l; arrow nock, xucĭl,ăki'k or ipaucĭl,ăki'k; bowguard, hical,ăŏ'p; quiver, n,ĭgobĕ'tă or descriptively hĭl,ăpo'vă, "something in which to put things"; warclub, kĕlyahwai'; shield, kwacω'vă or kŭco'vă; pike, xucai'ĭc. 192 411 713

A series of negative points should be recorded. Arrows lacked an enlarged nock, cross-sticks or corncobs mounted on the point, grooves on the shaft, and were normally not made of reed. The grooved arrow-straightener and the arrow-wrench were unknown. The hook-like club of the Diegueño was unknown,[41] and my informant denied the existence of knobby protuberances on clubs ascribed to the Maricopa by Mr. E. W. Gifford's Southeastern Yavapai informant. (Nor did the Pima and Papago have them.) The stone axe was not their weapon, nor the club with a stone ball head incased in hide. Armor was unknown; neither the tunic nor stick armor, the mescal armor of the Yavapai, nor the curtain shield of the Havasupai. 411 713 [114] [714]

[40] Peabody Museum, Yale University, No. 19112.

[41] Spier, *Southern Diegueño Customs*, p. 354.

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[82] tonwood is coming up; we are going to have buds now." Kutox also referred to it as xaráðo', "cold," and implied that it made its appearance in cold weather. The star was a Yavapai: "that is why the Yavapai can stand cold better than anyone else." Yet he stated that it made its appearance in the morning in autumn: he must have meant evening, either he or I being in error.

The North Star was known to my informants only by the [177] Spanish name *capitan*, used locally to mean "chief." They knew it was immobile.

Ursa Major was known as xŏtâluwe' yĭtavĭ'tc, "Coyote's net"; a group of seven stars.

[773] The sky looks like a sea. Some people were fishing by the sea. Coyote had a net of his own, which he held by one end. Fishes were leaping to the east of the net, which moves counterclockwise [around the North Star. The constellation must be thought of as near the zenith.] He heard them splashing to the west of the net, and, being afraid of missing them, he turned around. That formed the bend in the line of stars [the handle of the Dipper].

A constellation mani'c, "scorpion," was "directly overhead." It looks like a scorpion with its tail to the west. It was described as an arc of little stars facing the east, terminating at each end in two stars: a group of six stars lies west of the center of the arc; still farther west are three dim stars, and beyond, one alone.[9]

My informants did not know of any constellation called "buzzard," the Luiseño-Diegueño name for Altair. Nor did they recognize Cassiopeia or the Gemini from description.

The evening star was called "the star that travels through the sun," xomâce' ĭnyă'mkwa'm. There was no associated tale.

The morning star (xomâce' kovâtai'a, "big star") was the old woman of the Flute Lure tale who took her station in the sky.

[773] Then the old woman said she was going to change herself into the bright morning star. "Since I am an old woman, when an old person is dying, they will say he will be dead when the first morning star appears." (When an old person is dying, [763] he always says, "I am not going to die until the morning star appears.")

[787] People who dreamed of this star became brave, killed enemies. The hero of the same tale, this woman's grandson, Kwiya'-

[9] [114] A statement recorded in Culin (*Games*, p. 202) identifies Orion with Mountain Sheep, Pleiades with Gopher, and notes the Scorpion as described here. The nformation seems, however, to be Pima as well as Maricopa in source.

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Kohuana
Halyikwamai

tioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfactory results. It would seem that others were at least equally prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the directors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps, war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to their positions. In a society that put a premium on dream-sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention.

There seems to have been but one chief at a time in each of the tribes. The difficulty is that our information relates to the period of joint community of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai. The groups were then impoverished in numbers and lived in mixed and scattered settlements interdigitated with Pima. There is also a question how far the chief's prestige or the office itself was due to recognition by Mexican authorities.

At the Sacate settlement when Kutox was a boy, about 1855, the Pima, Halchidhoma, and Kohuana had each their own chief. Sumîl,a'm, "down-feathers travelling," was the Kohuana chief. He was entering old age at the time, and while he might have been chief when they came from the Colorado (1838–39), Kutox was uncertain.[1] At about the same time Malai', a man of like age, was chief of the Halchidhoma, then a group of perhaps twenty families. He may have been appointed by the Mexicans when they were in Mexico twenty years before. Kutox did not know whether, in an earlier period, there had been more than one Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief at a time. It seems unlikely: since he could remember the ancestry of chiefs of his day, he should have known of plural chiefs in earlier times. Last Star declared emphatically that the Maricopa had but one chief at a time.

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject

[1] Papago-foot, mentioned by Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) on Mohave authority as Kohuana chief about 1883, was, according to Kutox, not a chief but a respected old man. Last Star thought he may have been given a trial as chief, but could not have held the position for any great time.

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Mohave
Yuma

Xanavaé was given as "king," meaning "anyone who was head over people." This was not the name for the tribal chief, but for the leaders of Mexicans or Americans. It is Spanish *general*, here pronounced henerala. (Dr. Beals suggests that the terminal syllable may be from Spanish *rey*.) The Havasupai epithet for the head chief, hanata'vâ, "superlatively good," was not recognized by informants.[4] Havasupai kahá't, "chief," Mohave kohota, "dance director," and Yuma kwoxot, "chief," "dance leader,"[5] was here kwaxω"t or kwaɣo'tĭnc, "good man" (that is, good natured, kindly), not the name of an official. A dance leader was here called n,ima'cáisk.

The functions of a chief seem to have been slight: his authority more admonitory than coercive. He rose early in the morning and called the villagers. Talking to the men first, he admonished them to go out to hunt, to feed their wives and children. He told the women to hasten to prepare meal so the men could start. (A woman who failed to have breakfast ready by sunrise was scorned.) He looked after the meeting house and called men to the meetings.

There appear to have been no speakers (repeaters) for the chiefs or others.

Councillors were mentioned as chosen by the chief, two or three men. Whether they had special functions or authority is unknown to me. They were called matâsl'nyŭk, "those who agree"; more recently matâwi'kĭk, "helpers."

There were evening meetings which any man might attend as he chose, even young boys, but not women. They took place in a special large house erected in the middle of the sprawling settlement. These were by no means legislative assemblies: decisions were not binding. The opportunity was rather one for the expression of opinion at a convivial gathering. Nevertheless, the proceedings were quite stereotyped.

It was customary for the chief to get the meeting house ready. In mid-afternoon he started a big fire, which was kept up so that by evening it was intensely hot inside. He would clear it of dé-

[4] Kroeber's derivation of the Mohave word for chief, hanidhala, from Spanish *general* (Yuma, hon-ah-thal) may be correct but looks to me like folk-etymology on the part of the Mohave (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 745; Trippel, p. 568). The Cocopa, like the Maricopa and Havasupai, called the headman "good man" (information from Dr. R. H. Lowie).

[5] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 137.

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people. Some people would pity them; those who reared them were kind; others outside the family might abuse them. But abuse ceased and their foreign origin was forgotten after these boys and girls had married Maricopa. Several Maricopa now living are known to have Yavapai blood, possibly all derived from a single captive ancestress.

A grown girl was captured from the Apache [Yavapai?]. Her owners treated her exactly as their own daughter. She rode with us against the Apache, showing the way. When she first arrived she was unintelligible, but by the time she was grown she could speak Maricopa and Pima.

Captives were collectively known as n,ixu'alyacðu'm, "——— taken be mistreated" (n,ixu', meaningless ?; alyac, "to mistreat," as by throwing dirt; ðu'm, "to take"); a single captive, n,ixu'-alyaðau'. A captive who had been kept for a long time was called n,ixu'alyikω'ʀĭc, "old captive" (from n,ikω'ʀ^, "old," "ancient").[30]

[30] It seems probable that the last is the original of the term for captives used in the Spanish documents, *nixoras* (*niforas*). By its context the word seems to have been derived from the Yuman tongues. Font (1775) wrote: "They [the Yuma] usually . . . . try to capture a few children in order to take them out to sell in the lands of the Spaniards. These captives are called Nixoras by us in Sonora, no matter where they come from." But while here the word appears Sonoran, hence presumably Piman, he corrects this impression later (see below). Anza, for his part, wrote as though the Nixoras constituted a separate tribe: thus, in enumerating the personnel of the expedition of 1775, he listed "five interpreters of the Pima, Yuma, Cajuenchi, and Nifora languages," and in a letter of December, 1775, "This tribe [Cocomaricopa?], together with the preceding tribes and the Halchedunes, Niforas, Cahuenches, and others." But Font specifically corrects this: "I asked him [Anza] to tell me how he understood the entry which he knew he had made in his diary, that is to say, 'five interpreters for five tribes,' for I did not find more than three, and four at the most, counting as a servant of his an interpreter of the Pima tribe. . . . . The fact is that in order to heap up the salaries he had listed one as an interpreter of the Nixora tribe, though there is no such tribe; for in the Pimería they call Nixoras the Indians whom the tribes of the interior in their wars capture amongst themselves, and whom afterwards the Yumas and Pápagos bring to El Altar and other places to sell as captives or slaves, no matter what tribe they may belong to." As a matter of fact, Anza nowhere else wrote of the Nixoras as a tribe. Garcés several times used the name as a tribal designation, but with vagueness; he finally assigned "Niforas or Cuilsnivors or Naxi" to those Yavapai (or better upland Yumans) living northeast of the Halchidhoma. But there is no conviction to be derived from his usage that this was actually a tribal name (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 382; III, 2; IV, 102, 513; V, 305).

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had the same calendar. These months are xavâtca'c, xamitu'tc, and kŭmâθi'. Other month names were doubtfully the same as sibs: Last Star added l,cu'c and mavl'a as month names, Kutox added xipa'. Both gave macxipa's as the name of a month, but Last Star maintained that this corresponded to the sib name

TABLE IV

SIBS

Maricopa*	Halchidhoma	Kohuana	Halyikwamai	Pima	Yuma
l,cu'c.....	l,cu'c	.....	.....	l,cu'c	.....
xipa'.....	xipa'	.....	.....	xipa'	.....
xavâtca'c....	xavâtca'c	.....	.....	.....	.....
xamitu'tc....	xamitu'tc	.....	.....	.....	.....
kŭmâθi'.....	kŭmâθi'	.....	.....	.....	.....
pakl'c.....	pakl'c	.....	.....	.....	.....
	cîkâma'	cîkâma'	.....	.....	.....
	kwŭc^{k}ku'	kwŭc^{k}ku'	.....	.....	.....
	l,âmu'c	l,âmu'c	.....	.....	.....
		clayikwî's	.....	.....	.....
		sala'l	sala'l	.....	.....
mavl'a (?)...	.....	.....	.....	.....	mavl'a
	kwîtk$_{w}$l'l$_{y}$^{h}	.....	.....	.....	.....
		xllyi'	.....	.....	.....
			tŭxpa's	.....	.....
					cŭkâpa's

* Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 742) gives a list of sibs purporting to be Maricopa, but it is palpable that these refer to the several Maricopa-speaking tribes now forming the joint community. Kwaka is evidently Halchidhoma and Kohuana kwîc^{k}ku'. Kaila, sand, does not occur in any of my lists. The following sibs among the "Maricopa from the Cocopa," which Kroeber interprets to mean the Kohuana, do not occur in my list of local Kohuana sibs: halpot, a bush; kwethil, any yellow animal; mave, rattlesnake; kwinia, deer; hutpas, sedge (see also Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, pp. 158 f.). Of these, only one (kwethil) is known locally. It may be that these Kohuana sibs exist among remnants of this tribe elsewhere.

xipa'. The significant point is that both felt that the sib system was in direct relation to the calendar round. The plants that are cultivated, or which ripen in a certain month, are the totems of the sib having that month name. Thus, corn is planted in the two months named xavâtca'c (February and August); xamitu'tc is the month for gathering mesquite; cholla cactus ripens in xipa' and the giant cactus in kŭmâθi'; xipa' months (April and September) are also the months of rain. Corn, mesquite, cholla, suhuaro, and rain are all totems of the correspondingly named sibs.

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Yuma

no children of their own. Men approved, "treated them like girls," but the women were uneasy of them. Women who passed for men (kwiaxamē', which cannot be etymologised) dressed like men and married women. There was no ceremony at the transformation as among the Mohave.

Since all success depended on dreaming, it must have been frequent in adult life. In fact, the evidence is that the interpretation of dreams was a relatively common topic for discussion among friends. For instance, a significant dream came to a man or woman before they had intercourse; by it they knew whether they would have children. A man might dream that he was gathering little birds or puppies, dream that he was fond of them; that was a sign that he would have children. A woman might equally have such a dream. The dream did not give power to conceive: it was merely a forecast. Only in this sense, said informants, could it be said that a man knew the woman would conceive before she did.[3] Or on telling a dream, someone would interpret it: "That is a sign that you are not going to have a child." This type of dreaming had no special designation.

Similarly a man who had dreamed of marching up to fierce animals, who suddenly became quiet, could in the same manner march up to and kill a foeman.

Beside spontaneous dreaming, there was the possibility of inducing dreams which would yield occult power by taking jimsonweed. While under its influence, a man dreamed that the birds sang to him and told what he should do. Some days later he began to sing, having gotten power to cure. Such a person would not live long, they believed. For other persons the reactions to the narcotic were interpreted differently: their actions while under its influence foretold their future. If a man "was interested in fishing," he might jump into the river fully-clad,

[3] Of the Yuma, Forde writes: "Actual conception is known to the man before it is to the woman. . . . . To him, it is believed, comes the power to create the child. Conception can only occur when the man has received this power of which he should normally dream beforehand. Without this sense of spiritual exaltation intercourse cannot be fruitful, and he is immediately aware if he has achieved impregnation. The woman, for her part, can also resist conception by merely refusing to desire a child" (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 158; cf. p. 159). Perhaps; but I suggest that his informant meant no more than the Maricopa forecast.

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Yuma

Salt-Gila junction (but curiously enough called xagâvĭcâðo', "water divider"; possibly an outlier of the Sierra Estrella). The Salt River Range was known as "greasy mountain" (vikwaxa's) as the scene of the incident in the Creation tale where Coyote finished eating the culture hero's heart and wiped his greasy hands. "They thought of these four mountains as their own because they lived between them. They were not safe beyond these limits." However, certain mountains beyond these were selected as of the same nature: ᵃvikatcâkwi'n,â, "granary basket mountain," the Mohawk Mountains halfway down the Gila; vi'iðo', "willow mountain," south of Prescott; another lying northeast of this, called viakâvânau', "ridge pole mountain," because of its level top; and 'ikwĭmkwima'tc, "dancing with horns," somewhat to the east of the last. "The people long ago called these mountains theirs." Four Peaks in Yavapai country, a mountain near Yuma (called vial,xa", "berdache mountain"), and the sacred mountain of the Mohave (vikwâme') near Needles also had spirit qualities.

The most significant of these were Pima Butte and the Sierra Estrella. The former (viva'vâ, "solitary mountain") figures very much like the sacred mountain Avikwame for the Mohave, or the San Francisco Peaks for the Havasupai. "They praise this little butte because when a man begins to dream, the spirits always take him there first.[20] It is famous even among the Mohave and Yuma." This butte and another south of it were thought to fight with Four Peaks and another mountain on its north side. These represented respectively the Maricopa and the Yuma-Mohave-Yavapai. Depending on which pair of mountains won, so it would fare with humans. A better expression of mountains as partisans is the following.

The man who dreams of war says the Sierra Estrella owns the Maricopa, Pima and Papago: Four Peaks owns the Yavapai. These two are always debating. When Four Peaks wins the debate this one (Sierra Estrella) mourns. Then Four Peaks is happy; he sings and dances, for his people will win in battle.

[20] I understood Last Star to state that a shaman was always first taken to a high hill (called matâu'lgwĭsiðe"c, "high dirt that is a shaman") on the north bank of the Gila, opposite Pima Butte. This is an insignificant hill; hence I was presumably mistaken.

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and sang for them, receiving gifts in return. War and scalp dances, puberty ceremonies for girls, and bee-killing ordeals for boys were other occasions. Songs, of course, were used in curing and at the cremation and mourning rites. The impression is that singing and dancing was very frequent, although ritual dancing was wholly unknown to the Maricopa and their associates.

The list in Table VII embraces all songs known to two informants, Kutox and Last Star. In addition to songs of the local tribes (that is, the mixed group of the Maricopa community), it contains their responses to the names of the Yuman song series noted by Kroeber.[15] They rarely hesitated in ascribing a song to a particular tribe (although they may not always have been correct) and their evidence, obtained independently, was rarely contradictory. It is significant how frequently their identifying remarks duplicated those furnished by Kroeber. I have thought it advisable to give here the song names from Kroeber's list used as cues in order to show what evoked their responses. It should be pointed out that these songs and song-series had recognized names, titles in our sense.

The following notes on songs were recorded.

Blackbird was the proper name of the song about Deer, "because the man who dreamed of the Orange Shouldered Blackbird could cure any sickness derived from the Deer." One who dreamed of Deer would always sing, but he was too shy, "too cowardly," to sing before others. He had several men who sang with him, and would gradually let his voice drop, leaving the others to sing. "He did this because deer is the principal food; hence this man would fear being killed by other shamans." He also cured.

Buzzard told "all about the creation"; how the culture hero appeared and acted when he sickened; of his cremation, and how the people dispersed in the desert and settled in their historic homes. At the war dance, there were formed two opposing lines of men and women alternately, with the singer in the middle of

[Text continues on page 263.]

[15] *Handbook*, pp. 755 f., 786. Kroeber lists as Maricopa songs according to Maricopa information: Salt, Deer, Taris (i.e., Killdeer), Buzzard, and Mockingbird. The last alone was not mentioned by my informants.

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Maricopa

The song names shown in Table VIII, also derived from Kroeber's list, were recognized so far as their possible meaning in Maricopa was concerned, but they were not known as songs to

TABLE VIII

Cue Name	Maricopa Equivalent	Meaning or Comment
———	amŏ'ɬ	mountain sheep: "too sacred an animal to describe"
awi-kunchi	kwiyu'c	meteor
chichohoichva	tcuhwl'tc	There was a story "called" tcuhwl'tc containing songs among the Maricopa, but the songs were not sung independently.
djokwar (speech)	tcŭkwe'aĭk	speech
hacha (Pleiades)	ɣĭtca'	Pleiades
humahnana (malodorous beetle)	ɣamĭsnŏ'n	malodorous beetle
ichulyuye	hasu'lg	a kind of rheumatism
ipam-imicha (person cries)	ipamĭ'tc	a person crying
halypuka (loon)	ɣalyapu'kc	loon
hikupk (venereal disease)	tcŏɣnu'ɣ	a bad disease (venereal?)
keruk (mourning ceremony)	kĕru'kam (Halchidhoma)	mourning ceremony (cf. Yuma karu'uk above)
nyikwar (crane)	nakwe'	crane
nyimi (wild-cat)	namĕ'ɬ	wild-cat
parhau (fox)	xataluwe'	coyote: sar[illegible]niyo' (meaningless) was its name in myths
sampulyka (mosquito)	cămpu'llg	mosquito
yaroyara	kwiya'xoya'xa	This was the "name" of the songs of the old women with scalps in the tale of Coyote (p. 362).

either of my informants. It is obvious that some of the Maricopa words brought to mind by these cue names have nothing to do with the subjects of the named songs.

The following song names illicited no recognition: antelope, av'alyunu, beaver, chayautai, goose, haykwesa, hehltamataie, hortloi, kachachwar, mountain, rattlesnake (ave), wellaka.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

MARICOPA MUSIC[20]

BY GEORGE HERZOG

The following Maricopa songs recorded by Dr. Leslie Spier share in the traits of the Yuman musical style. These traits are: the absence of strong accents or pulsations, placid flow of the melody, pleasing alternations of two-unit and three-unit rhythmic figures, simplicity of the tonal development and clearly balanced structure.[21] But the outstanding characteristic of the Yuman style, the introduction of a new part, imitating the main motive on a higher tonal level,[22] does not seem to be as common in Maricopa songs as it is in the songs of other Yuman tribes.[23] Among the songs that follow, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 have this "rise" clearly; in No. 6 there is a suggestion of it (in the more emphatic use of *b* in the *g* phrase); in No. 5 only a change of rhythm appears. The fact that this peculiarity is represented somewhat weakly in Maricopa songs may be due to Pima influence but this could be established only on the basis of more material.

No. 1 is in 18/8 (3/2) rhythm. With the change of the text in a^1, the triplet-movement is temporarily broken, the phrase has now 20/8 and 17/8 (or 19/8 and 18/8); in the variant 16/8 and 17/8 (or 15/8 and 18/8). The melodic weight is fairly evenly distributed over the two tones of the melody, still *b b* can be con-

[20] These songs were recorded on a phonograph. With the exception of No. 3, they were sung by Last Star (from whom No. 1 was obtained twice): No. 3 was sung by Claude Redbird. Each song is but a single song from the long series of the same name. The texts of the songs, which are printed in the notes above, were obtained independently of the phonograph records. Dr. Herzog has undertaken the awkward task of fitting my texts to the words as heard from the records. He writes: "I did not have much trouble in fitting the text to the music; still at a few places this has not been entirely successful and our texts disagree on a few minor points. I have placed in parentheses a few syllables where I am either not absolutely certain that I am hearing what I ought to, according to the text you sent me, or where I hear something definitely different from the indications of the text. These are, of course, points of minor importance. At one place I have a question-mark in the text since I can not make out the syllable (No. 3, second line)."—L. S.

[21] See *The Yuman Musical Style.* [22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 196–97.

[23] This is borne out also in the Maricopa songs of the story of Na'sia, recorded by me from the Pima.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

hesitate to wake the shaman in this fashion if he went at night. The response was always by the women of the shaman's household, whereon the visitor told at once why he came. He told that the patient "needed help through the night or day, to see how he would get along. 'Whether you know just what the sickness is or not, we want you to take care of our whole family.'" The shaman never left at once with the petitioner, but came some time after.

Curing took place inside the dwelling. It was darkened, the fire put out, but the shaman "could see clearly as though it were daylight." The shaman did not approach the patient at once, but sat apart, while those of the household explained that the patient was very sick. When he seated himself beside the sick man, he felt all over the latter's body to find whether he suffered from fever, headache, or whatever. He never asked the patient for symptoms but discovered the cause of the illness for himself. He then proceeded to relieve him by brushing with his hand, blowing spittle and perhaps smoke on the patient, and sucking his body. He brushed with the side of his hand, back and forth, barely touching the sick man. Most of the brushing was directed toward the feet so as to avoid driving the sickness toward the heart. The sick man always lay with his head to the east, with the shaman south of him so that he could brush and press mostly with his left hand. Shamans maintained that they could always do better with that hand. (Last Star did not know their reason.) He breathed and sprayed with spittle "to give him his hot or cold breath," as needed to relieve chills or fever. He also sucked "to take out the fever," but did not suck out any disease object.[29]

Maricopa shamans used neither feathers for brushing nor a rattle when singing, as the Pima did. Yet the phrase "to sing to

[29] There are several references to sand as a magical curative agent in the myths of the Maricopa and other Yumans. The Anza documents describe its actual use more than once, e.g., Eixarch (1776) related that a Yuman shaman rubbed sand on a sick man's stomach (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, III, 377). Kroeber recorded it as a Mohave practice (*Handbook*, p. 777). My Maricopa informants had no knowledge of its use.

The Pima use of stone tablets found in ruins for curing was also not Maricopa (Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 112, 266). Informants had no knowledge of these objects.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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192 cure" was translated by my interpreter into Maricopa as axna'l-
756 mítce"vik, "gourd [rattle] singing."[30] This may be because they
[648] now call in Pima shamans.

755 Usually at a cure several old men sat beside the shaman to lend him their strength, but they did not sing.

[276] Before the shaman began, he smoked two or three cigarettes or even four if the patient was very sick. He also stopped from time to time to smoke. "The shaman felt weak without his tobacco, like a man without food and water. He smoked to make himself feel strong." It is not clear that the shaman blew smoke over the sick man. Last Star did not mention it as part of the [115] procedure and his statement that the shaman stopped to smoke implies otherwise. Kutox, on the other hand, said that he blew smoke over the patient's body, but did not describe it in his own cure, cited below. The tobacco used by shamans did not differ from that of the layman.

533 The shaman sang two songs or four over the patient when he
755 knew he would recover. Only if the patient was seriously ill did the shaman begin singing from the first. "His songs were like prayers." He sang them to gain strength. These were songs he had learned in dreams and which he used only when curing; otherwise he kept them secret. The songs told how the spirit had taken him to the mountain tops to reveal the cures, but they did not describe this explicitly. In the course of his songs he named the disease and told the patient that "when he heard these songs he might get well."[31]

[822] If, while singing, the shaman mentioned only things that were white (birds or whatever) and called the patient's breath white,
533 the auditors were sure he would get well. But if he changed these
755 references to black, the patient was doomed. On the fourth night
763 (theoretically a shaman was given four nights to effect a cure), if

[114] [30] Forde's Yuma informant, ascribing the use of a rattle to the Maricopa, was presumably mistaken (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 198).

[171] [31] Informants had never heard of curing by the songs of animals diagnosed as causing the disease, as did the Pima; such causes being foreign to their belief. Possible exceptions were the singing of Blackbird song for sickness "caused by the deer" and the belief that rabbits caused illness and supplied its cure.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Cocopa

spitting them out again red hot, walking or kneeling on them, or putting them in their pockets. This could be done by those who dreamed of Frog. 789

When Mountain Killdeer was sung, the shamans all cried "Spread it! spread it!" (kâtâvâta'g) and then performed their tricks. One man who pretended he was one of them went away from the crowd to spread secretly his cotton blanket with dirt. Then he poured hot coals in the middle of it, but he did not notice that dirt was lacking there. He whirled it around until it blazed up, to his discomfiture. They all laughed at him; pushed him about, laughing. This was always alluded to as a joke whenever this song was sung.

Others "who had something around their hearts which gave them power," rubbed themselves on the breast and drew out of their mouths flat tapes, a foot long, which resembled sinew. Sometimes they took from their mouths a hair which seemed alive. There was no stick swallowing trick.

For the rest, shamanistic activities had practical ends: helping fishermen, bringing rain, purifying eagle feathers, and clairvoyance to discover the enemy, foretell the winner of a race, or to detect thieves.

A shaman who had dreamed of fishes would go to a pond or slough when fish could not be caught. He would say, "Wait; I will see what I can do." He threw willow leaves in perhaps more than once, and the fishermen would find these transformed into fish.[34]

When rain was wanted, a shaman who had dreamed of rain would stand and puff four cigarettes toward the sky. "The smoke went up to the clouds." Another shaman might make the rain cease. This was not a public demonstration.

Eagle feathers were considered exceedingly dangerous (mu-ciðe'vĭk or mucârai'âm), that is, poisonous (xuturâu'yĭm).[35] They were given to a shaman to purify (xacâvâsu'i). He puffed the smoke of four cigarettes all over the feathers and then sucked each one. "He took all the poison out of it." (There was no singing with this procedure.) The shaman would tie the feather to a 783 825

[34] Inquiry on this point was suggested by Mr. E. W. Gifford who understood the Cocopa to say that they used willow leaves to fill up the pond in order to stupefy or poison the fish. [114]

[35] For a myth reference see p. 374.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

574 576 turn inquire how the host was feeling. An infrequent visitor might tell of the death of a relative, when the host would cry with him in sympathy. (But there was no formal tear salutation such as Russell describes for the Pima.[17]) If a visitor was met outside the house, he was greeted, "Spread your news [gânavŏk, 'talk!']!" If only women were at home, they would invite the guest to eat but would not question him. On leaving, a visitor says, "I came to see you and find your people are well. I feel good to see them well: I am happy. I spent the day well. I am [201] going home now." They shook hands on parting, calling each other again by kinship terms with not another word. (I saw this performance repeatedly and was impressed with the extreme parsimony of the exchange of salutations.)

482 Carrying habits followed sex-differentiated patterns. A woman invariably carried burdens balanced on her head, usually supported on a ring-shaped pad of cloth. In this fashion, they carried pots of water, baskets of mesquite, or the cradle, the last even perched on top of a basket loaded beyond its brim. On the other hand, a man never carried anything on his head: a log, for instance, rested on the shoulder.[18] Women also carried articles at the small of the back in a cloth tied around the waist, in the fash- [171] ion of the Pueblos and Havasupai, but men never did so. On journeys a man carried water in a gourd tied to the left side of the belt by a cord tied around its neck, the gourd stoppered with a corn cob. When a man and woman travelled together, "he let her carry everything." Women were, in fact, adept carriers. The carrying net of southern California and the netted frame of the Pima and Papago were unknown.

532 They never hesitated to draw diagrams on the ground for me and were not concerned to wipe them away, unlike the Havasupai.

572 A special relation of friendship sometimes united men. "They

[17] *Pima Indians*, p. 200. I think we may doubt that the Pima practice was [114] anything more than what is here described for the Maricopa.

[18] Curiously enough, Garcés' Halchidhoma travelling companion of 1774, who had both hands occupied, carried a jug of water on his head (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 387).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

524 piles.) The other guessed whether the stone was at the middle or end. If he was correct, it was his turn to hide it; otherwise the first hid it again. (Counters were not used.)

The widely known cañute game (called axta'mtatuθu'lik, "reed hiding") was here as usual a man's game.[20] According to Kutox it was also played by the Halchidhoma before leaving the Colorado, who when playing it, were so intent that they would not heed the enemy approaching. Four sections of arrowreed were obtained, cut so that one end alone was closed by a node. Marks were burned into them; any designs being used so long as they were placed at the proper points. My informant described one as marked for its whole length with transversely encircling lines, the second with such lines only at its open end, the third with a longitudinal wavy line at the middle, and the fourth plain. They were named as shown in Table X.

TABLE X

Marked	Named
Entire length	kwĭnaδ'kc, "old man"
Plain	akoi', "old woman"
At center	toɨkwĭnyo'ac, "middle figures"
At open end	hiya'kwĭnyo'ac, "mouth figures"

A tiny length of arrowweed or a pellet of charcoal was hidden in one of these tubes and all four filled with dirt. The hidden object was called nˌâɨat, "my dog." Any number of counting sticks were used: each side had a bundle of 75 to 100. Four men played on a side.

To begin the game, each side was provided with a pair of tubes: "old man" and "old woman" *versus* the other pair. Each side hid a pellet in one of the tubes they held and both guessed in which tube their opponents had hidden it. The winners then took all four tubes and hiding a pellet in one of them, while they remained concealed under a cloth drawn over their knees, threw them down before their opponents.

[171] The usual form of the game in the Southwest calls for the

[20] Culin recorded the game under the name ta-thulsh (*Games*, p. 370). His name for one of the tubes kota-aks, "old man," was not recognized by my informants.

● [174]

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

CHAPTER XII

TALES

CREATION TALE[1]

There were people living in this world. I do not know whether they were like me or different, but I have heard that they lived in this world. All sorts of evil things had taken place. They thought it was not right that they should live longer, so they flooded all the land in which they lived. Two of them went under the sea, the flood waters. The waters rose to the sky so that no one was saved. These two went under the sea to look for a place to stay. One had a certain bird (dŭd'iu'c[2]) for a pet, the other another bird (tĭnyă'm kaltcĭ'sk, "dark *Phenopepla*"?). They were emerging. They wanted to see how far they had come. One sent his dŭd'iu'c back to see: they heard the sound of it flying all the way to that place [under the water] and back. Then the other sent his kaltcĭ'sk ahead. It was so far that they heard the noise of his going, but the sound faded away before it returned.

These two men were called kukuma't; the other, the older, isăcipa's. Isacipas came out of the water first. As Kukumat was emerging, he asked the first how he came out of the sea; whether he had his eyes open or closed. The first man told him that he had opened his eyes as he came through the sea. Then Kukumat opened his eyes as he emerged and got them full of salty water, so he became blind.

They got a big log to sit on, and started floating around the world. By the time they reached their starting place again, the sea had gone down somewhat. They went around once again; then again. When they had gone around the fourth time, the

[1] These tales were told by Kutox and interpreted by Ida Redbird. Curtis and Culin recorded versions of this tale (Curtis, II, 86; Culin, *Games*, p. 201); the latter, however, seems to be compounded of Pima and Maricopa versions. There is a conventional ending to tales: the narrator says n,upai', "It is gone."

[2] Mrs. Redbird translated this as killdeer, but the killdeer is called tavaai'c.

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Pima N429

be safe in saying, that the system is more extensively and methodically practised than elsewhere. The Yumas, and other tribes on the Colorado irrigate their lands, and raise wheat, corn, melons, etc. The Moquis and the Navajos, far to the north, do the same; and the warlike Apaches, who are more nomadic in their habits than any tribe west of the Rocky Mountains, raise corn when driven to extremities. But the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas have made agriculture more of a system. Their lands are better irrigated, their crops are larger, and the flour which they make from their wheat and maize is quite as good as the Mexicans make, except in their grist-mills.

I am inclined to think that Major Emory in his Report has greatly over-estimated the number of these people. He states, that "the population of the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas together is estimated variously at from three to ten thousand, and that "the first is evidently too low."* From information obtained from the chiefs, and the Mexican officers in Sonora, I should not place them above two thousand. Captain Johnston,† another officer attached to the army under General Kearney's command, in estimating them as embracing "over two thousand souls," came very near the mark. Of the number stated by me, I was told that two thirds were Pimos.

Their complexion is a dark brown, differing from that of the red-skins east of the Rocky Mountains, and from the olive cast of the California tribes. The women have good figures, with full chests and finely

* Emory's Report, p. 80. † Johnston's Report, p. 599.

5:Hodge E-4 (no date)1959
NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

101 Maricopa being their Pima name.
175 Emory states that they have moved gradually from the Gulf of California to their present location in juxtaposition with the
175 Pima, Carson having found them, as late
175 as 1826, at the mouth of the Gila. They
648 joined the Pima, whose language they do not understand, for mutual protection

[142]
[302]

MARICOPA WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

against their kindred, but enemies, the Yuma, and the two have ever since lived peaceably together. In 1775 the Maricopa and the Yuma were at war, and as late as 1857 the latter, with some Mohave and Yavapai, attacked the Maricopa near Maricopa Wells, s. Ariz., but with the aid of the Pima the Maricopa routed the Yuma and their allies, 90 of the 93 Yuma warriors being killed. After this disaster the Yuma never ventured so far up the
101 Gila. Heintzelman states, probably cor-
● [114] rectly, that the Maricopa are a branch of the Cuchan (Yuma proper), from whom they separated on the occasion of an election of chiefs (H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 34th
[171] Cong., 1857). Like the Pima, the Maricopa are agriculturists, and in habits and
175 customs are generally similar to them.
131 Venegas (Hist. Cal., II, 182, 185, 192, 1759)
161 states that about 6,000 Pima and Cocomaricopa lived on Gila r. in 1742, and that they extended also to the Salado and the Verde; they are also said to have had some rancherias on the w. side of Colorado r., in a valley 36 leagues long. Garcés estimated the population at 3,000 in 1775. There were only 350 under the Pima school superintendent, Arizona, in 1905.

175 By act of Feb. 28, 1859, a reservation
648 was set apart for the Maricopa and the

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